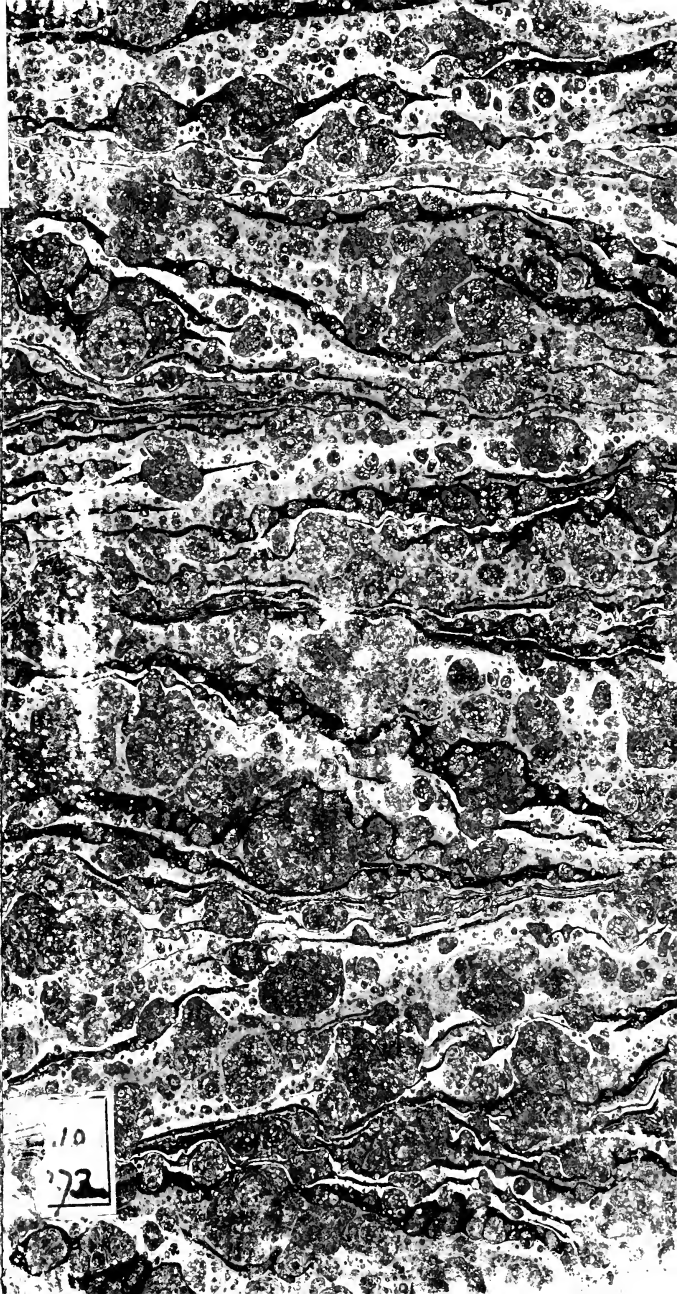
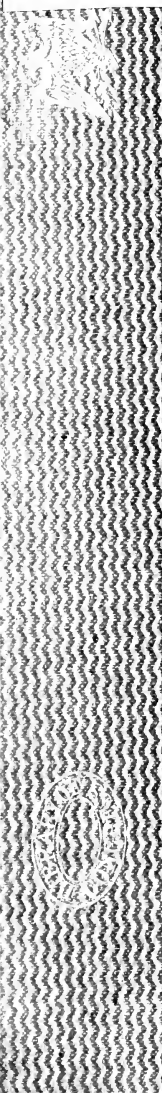


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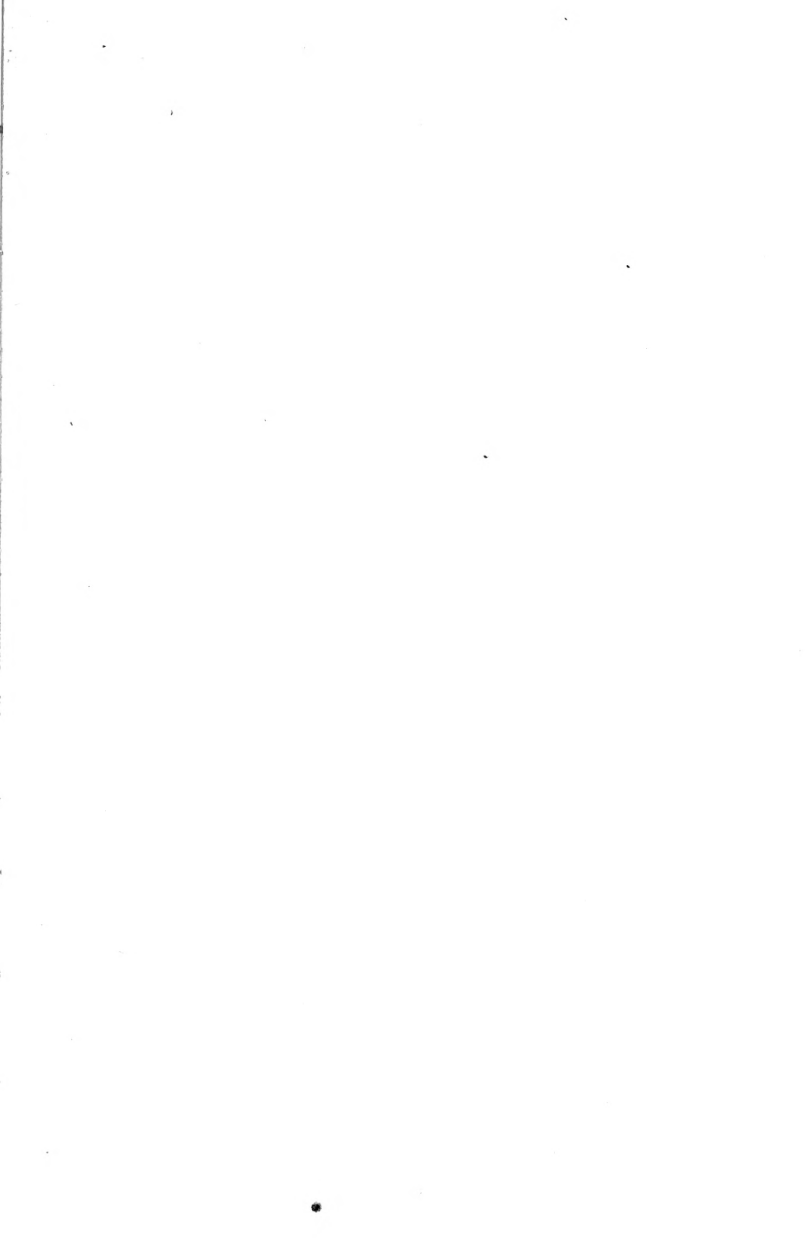


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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.







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INDESTRUCTIBILITY OF THE AMERICAN UNION.

A LECTURE,

BY HARRISON PERRY YOUNG,

Delivered before the Parker Fraternity,

IN TEMPLAR'S HALL, BOSTON, MASS.

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INDESTRUCTIBILITY

OF THE

AMERICAN UNION.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

FOR some time past we have had a desire to address the citizens of Boston upon the present situation of this government and the importance and necessity of preserving the American Union,—the land of our birth,—

“The land of the free, and the home of the brave.”

Since the commencement of our national difficulties; since the hostile attitude of South Carolina was first assumed, and the defiant Secession ordinances were adopted by the Cotton States; since the boom of the cannon has shaken the ramparts of Fort Sumter, and the cry of *war* has sent gloom and despair to many a lone fireside, has the question been asked,—Can the American Union fall? Will the experiment of a republican government prove a failure in the United States of America? Is it possible that man

is incapable of self-government? But we presume that those interrogations have received the *emphatic negative* from many, — yea, *many* a loyal son of American freedom. Nay! The American Union cannot fall; the Republic shall exist through ages. God has endowed man with the qualifications for self-government. Oh, what an absurd theory, — too gross to require comment! O weak and blasphemous man! could you be more presumptuous in the face of your Creator than to question his power, wisdom, and justice, by supposing that he has brought into existence races of human beings, with endowments inadequate to govern themselves, — with endowments insufficient to secure their happiness and well-being? Is it not totally repugnant to profound reasoning to conceive the idea that *man* — the noblest work of God's creation — should be called to being, totally depraved, and incapacitated to control himself? After acknowledging the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Omniscient Being, could we suppose that his noblest works were so defective, — that he has failed to possess his beings with those faculties which are essential to the greatest terrestrial enjoyments? Most assuredly we could not. Then, as the first of these are experienced in the capacity of self-government, it would seem folly to question the abilities of man to govern himself. This is a part of our nature: it is the direct gift of God.

The desire of self-control — the disposition of the human being to reject that which is inimical to his own will — manifests itself at an early period of our existence, and continues to expand as the ensuing years develop and enlarge the powers of the mind. The babe in its mother's arms is seen to manifest feelings of displeasure and resentment for certain actions of the parent, which are in nonconformity to its tender will. The daughter becomes indifferent to the admonitions of her mother, and assumes a surly countenance if she is forbidden the fashionable articles of dress, and prohibited attending the various pleasure parties. The son is not unfrequently angry with his father when warned of approaching danger, and restrained from those paths of vice which his footsteps would intuitively follow ; or when curtailed, by the domineering spirit of the parent, in the free exercise of those rights and privileges which reason has shown to be his. Hence, he “ Longs for one and twenty,” when he will be a free man, — free to think, speak, and act in conformity to the dictates of his own conscience, whether it bring weal or woe. Nothing excites the angry passions so quickly, and prepares resistance, — nothing will make the cry of *vengeance* louder than when the declaration is uttered, — You *shall* do this, or that ! Then it is that the whole powers of the inborn soul are summoned to action, and the fiery darts of vengeance and retalia-

tion are madly dashing hither and thither, demanding restitution. It is a principle of human nature to submit to *no arbitrary power*.

Nowhere do we drop so many tears of sympathy as upon the pages of history. Nowhere do the throbings of the heart so frequently "Bid you God-speed" as when we behold a people, intuitively moved by a just appreciation of their natural rights and privileges, breaking asunder the bands of tyranny, and fearlessly pledging their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in support of those great principles; "that all men are created free and equal that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." No thought gives greater inspiration to the soul; nothing is more sublime than to imagine them drawing their swords and fearlessly marching to the battle-field, resolved that their fate shall be *Liberty, or Death!*

This, my friends, is the vital principle of Republicanism. It is the essence of *Liberty*. Hence, the reasons are easily deduced why a few people should bid farewell to one of the wealthiest and most powerful nations upon the globe, and trust their hopes and fortunes upon the raging deep, when

"The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rock-bound coast,
And the woods against a stormy sky
Their giant branches tossed.

“And the heavy night hung dark
The hills and waters o’er,
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.”

They sought a land where they could worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences,—a land where no tyrant’s frown should embarrass the freedom of thought, speech, or action. And hence it was that they were ready to engage in a war with one of the mightiest kingdoms of earth, rather than submit to a government in which they could have no voice, no representation. Thus, it is readily inferred why mankind, in all ages, have been prone to resist oppression and revolutionize nations,—why kings and emperors have been assassinated, and the most powerful monarchies crushed to atoms.

The history of the world is replete with these facts. Is it not because the God of our fathers has implanted within our hearts a love of *freedom* and a resistance for aught that may oppose the exercise of *free-will*?

Then, after admitting the justice of the Creator (which I presume none of my hearers would call in question),—that the doctrine of freedom and equal rights is a part of our nature; that it is the direct gift of God,—does it not follow that a republican form of government is the most natural, the most just, the most stable and enduring of earthly institutions?

Truly, the friends of despotism have told us that the doctrine of equal rights and the natural capacity of man for self-government is an absurdity ; and that history has shown the republican government to be an abortive failure, in the examples of Greece and Rome. The republic of Greece, say they, — the cradle of arts, arms, and liberty at one time, — fell to ruin when her patriots, poets, and orators were in the zenith of their glory. Rome, they tell us, who had conquered the whole world and proclaimed her republican institutions eternal, proved her incapacity for self-government, and sunk to the abyss of self-destruction. But they have failed to pause for the interrogations, — Where are the monarchies that were reared in their stead? What was the fate of the third, fifth, and seventh kings of Rome? Did they prove themselves invulnerable beings, ordained by Providence as the special dictators and usurpers of Roman liberty? Were they successful in chaining those legions of human beings in an everlasting state of bondage, ignorance, and disgrace, overshadowing them with the clouds of kingly terror, and commanding submission by thunderbolts of imperial rage? No, *no* ; the laws of Nature are more powerful than the sceptre of a Grecian or Roman monarch. The desire for liberty and knowledge, which is implanted in every breast, expands and moves the noble hero forward to vindicate his rights. The curtains of des-

potism are withdrawn, and as the brilliant sun of light and liberty gradually ascends the political horizon, the nation comes forth to demand its rights, and take vengeance upon the usurper. The king is assassinated, and the monarchy crumbles to atoms. Thus it was with Greece and Rome.

Were it necessary, we could go back to the ruins of Babylon, and ask the despot what has become of that mighty empire. What can you say of Egypt, — of the Assyrian monarchy and the Persian empire? Will you inform us of the fate of the Macedonian kingdom? They have all sunk to the vortex of destruction. Gone forever! Do not tell us, then, that the voice of *history* favors the monarchical government; that it overthrows the doctrine of equal rights and the capacity of man for *self-government*. But since it proves the instability of despotism, we are led to inquire the *causes* for the various fluctuations between the two different forms of government in the history of nations. During one generation we see a prosperous monarchy. The king sits upon his throne of pearls and diamonds, basks in every sunshine of luxury, and holds the fortunes and lives of his subjects in his hand. A few years glide silently by, and this king and his monarchy are known only in history. A mighty republic has sprung to existence, which flourishes for a while and passes away. With its expiring groans comes the imperial reign

again, which, in like manner, is limited in its existence. While, therefore, we must acknowledge that the republic has taken its turn with monarchies and despotisms, we will contend that its decline, in no case, was the immediate result of inability in a people to govern themselves. Nay, a more scrutinous investigation of the subject will convince the unprejudiced mind that it was a just retribution of Providence for the failure or indisposition of a people to fill that standard of intelligence and high-toned morality for which they had been endowed. This fact, we think, needs no elucidation, — that the supremacy of a government, the grandeur and glory of a nation, can be maintained only by the wisdom, patriotism, and virtue of its citizens. When the people begin to grow insensible to the blessings of freedom, and degenerate in natural and moral worth, the declension of their government must inevitably follow. Thus it was with the nations of antiquity.

But again (if further arguments are necessary upon this point), it has been alleged by despotic friends that the passions and prejudices to which man is by nature subjected would alone disqualify him for the government of himself; that they would lead him into many gross errors of judgment, which would too often prove detrimental to the happiness and well-being of his fellow-creatures, — and hence the indispensability of kingly power. For the sake

of argument, suppose that we should yield this point for a moment,—that man is incapable of self-government. Who, we ask, is by nature qualified for the responsibility of controlling both his own actions and those of his fellow-men? Who are the immaculate dictators, the kings and emperors ordained by Nature? Is any human being free from the influence of all passions and prejudices? Where is that individual who has the presumption to claim perfection,—to claim a natural right for controlling the fortunes, the actions, the conscience, and the *lives* of others?

This reminds me of an argument that I recently heard used in your State Legislature, by one of the members of the House of Representatives, on the occasion of a bill being brought forward to modify the *law pertaining to the reading of the Bible in public schools*. No Legislature has a right to enact a law, or code of laws, that will interfere with the conscientious scruples of any of the people, or embarrass the freedom of thought and speech upon any subject of religion. It is inconsistent with all teachings of moral science, and openly warring upon the spirit of Christianity, to suppose that true religion can be advanced, and the salvation of a people secured, by arbitrary legislation, by uniting the affairs of Church and State, or by *fire and sword*. Man is a free agent, and must “work out his own salvation

with fear and trembling." However wise may be your legislators, however profound their knowledge of law and philosophy,—however pious your theologians and clergymen, and however thoroughly instructed in the various branches of Christianity,—none have a right to dictate or fetter the consciences of others in anything pertaining to religion. Of course they have a right and, we may say, a *duty*, to advise and instruct; but nothing can supersede *moral suasion*. No theologian, no sectarian divine, has a natural right to supplant the conscience or religious inclinations of his fellow-men, save by mild influences and profound logic. Hence, we find that neither talent nor acquired wisdom can be a sufficient pretext for one person to control the lives and fortunes of others.

Another gross delusion into which the adversaries of republicanism have often been emerged is the idea that *birth* and *wealth* make social distinctions. What could be more absurd in theory than to conclude that the youth of giant intellect, endowed with all those patriotic and philanthropic propensities which render humanity noble and great, because he is a child of obscure parentage, a son of poverty, and has "earned his bread by the sweat of his brow," is less entitled to the throne of England than that youth known by you all as "the Prince of Wales," from the fact that the latter chanced to be the homely

progeny of a *queen*, has rolled in princely luxury, and is enabled to spend his three millions of dollars at pleasure, visiting the neighboring continents and exhibiting his verdant donkeyship to an excited populace? Would any honest and unprejudiced American contend that the haughty millionaire who has been raised, supported, and enriched by the labor of the black man, and who never had the experience of one day's hard labor in his life, is better qualified for, and more entitled to, the executive mansions at Washington than Abraham Lincoln, simply from the circumstances that the latter, one day, "earned his bread by the sweat of his brow;" that he "*mauled rails?*" Certainly, no intelligent citizen could be so unjust as to make this the basis for political distinction. Hence we have learned that "Democracy is no levelling principle." It would never attempt to equalize men in those things in which Nature has been pleased to make them unequal. It is useless for us, at this time, to repeat what has so frequently been affirmed, and as often admitted,—that there are certain inherent differences existing among men, both respecting the intellectual faculties and the moral worth. We know that the natural endowments of mankind are very unequal. We also know that the degrees of development of the various faculties are, by circumstance or accident, rendered more unequal. Then, as a natural consequence, the influence exerted

upon society by different individuals must also be very unequal. You might have one neighbor whose erudition was almost unlimited, whose acquaintance with law and philosophy was profound, and whose judgment, in questions involving constitutional and legal rights, you could almost risk your life upon; yet, at the same time, you knew him to be a man of no moral worth. He would flatter you in your presence, but would assail your character, with oaths of profanity, in your absence, if, perchance, by so doing, he might at any time add a few pence to his purse. On the other hand, though, you could have a neighbor whose natural endowments were comparatively small, and whose intellectual culture had been almost entirely neglected; but whose manly deportment, whose just dealings in both public and private, whose tender sympathies and Christian benevolence would often banish your pride and melt your eyes to tears. And again there may be another, whose genius will at times carry your admiration almost beyond your control. But what, we ask, can be found among social distinctions, to constitute a natural right, a just basis, for political power? Ay, it is not there! No such right can exist!

Although it is an obvious insult to the voice of justice, and in open violation of the teachings of the gospel, we see that *wealth* makes social distinctions; that it influences the public, both in matters of taste

and fashion, and also in the affairs of Church and State. To this assertion we presume many of you can testify, even here, in this good and patriotic old city of Boston. The weight of the *purse* sometimes has a mightier influence than the weight of *brains*! If, for example, a ball must be given to a prince, or an ovation to an emperor; if a committee is to be chosen to transact any business for Church or State, all subordinate eyes are immediately directed toward the *millionaires*, supposing, of course, that the responsibility, the profit and honor of the affair, will be entrusted to the "righteous few" who "*had not expected to be called upon.*" Thus it is with the office-seekers; and hence, the old saying: "If a man has *money*, he can get an office." Although the existence of social distinctions is quite apparent, and would seem to be almost unavoidable, it affords no argument in favor of the establishment of *arbitrary power*,—no argument against the doctrine of equal rights and the capacity of man for self-government.

Seeing as we do, therefore, the true principles of our national character, the natural and just principles upon which it was originally constructed; namely, "That all men are created free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,"—seeing the wisdom of its founders, the unpopularity of the cause at that time,

the unequalled bravery with which they came forth, hand in hand, to meet the work before them, and the undying *valor* with which they rallied around the staff of Liberty, and achieved the glorious victories of the American Revolution; when we look upon the corrupt aristocracy of despotic governments, and behold the crimes that are nurtured in their midst,—the open violation of man's nearest and dearest rights, and the humiliating state of subjection, dejection, ignorance, and degradation to which the people are continually exposed, groaning beneath a tyrant's frown, and living in perpetual dread of a domestic insurrection or of foreign invasion; when we bring these considerations home to our own hearts, and realize the many privileges and blessings that have been enjoyed under the republican government, the happiness and prosperity which our ancestors realized from its benign influence, and the unbounded bliss which it has bestowed upon ourselves and the recent generations, — could we do otherwise than reverence such a system of government, casting our sacrifices upon the shrine of liberty and equal rights, and trust to eternal justice for the preservation and perpetuity of these glorious institutions, hoping and praying that this government shall never! never!! *never!!!* see a dissolution of its States, while the institutions of mortal man shall flourish upon this terrestrial ball?

But we trust that the American people are not as

yet insensible to the advantages and blessings of republicanism. And there can be no better safeguard for the future existence of the Republic, than a true appreciation of the people for the superiority of their institutions.

This superiority has been so nobly demonstrated in the growth and prosperity of this country since the adoption of the Federal Constitution that we think him deaf to the voice of history, and blind to the daily occurrences of life, who will hesitate to acknowledge that this Union is founded upon a superior system of government, and that its citizens enjoy many privileges and immunities which are nowhere tolerated in other governments. Hence it is, that we have such confident assurances of its durability. Yes, thank God, we have confidence in the intelligence and patriotism of the majority of the American people, to trust the best government of earth to their keeping. This is an essential feature of democracy; it is the bulwark of republicanism, intelligence, and virtue. But it is not so in a monarchy or a despotism: there, the perpetuity of power in the rulers depends rather upon the ignorance than the intelligence of those whom they govern. For, as a natural consequence, the more the human mind is enlightened, the more sensible the individual, or the class of individuals, becomes, of

their rights and their abilities to think and act for themselves.

But there are other characteristics of the republican government, whose importance demand consideration in the present connection, and whose influence, by good citizens, must always be looked upon as pernicious, and adverse to national integrity. We refer to excessive party spirit, and the abuses of *sectional prejudice*. While it is true that their existence, in some degree, may be advantageous in arousing the people to a love of liberty, and causing them to exercise a more profound interest in the affairs of their government, nothing can be more detrimental to the peace and prosperity of a State than the abuses of *party spirit*. When men become infatuated, and act, not from reason, not from principle, or the result of a calm and sober judgment, but from stubborn prejudices and extreme passions; when they forget or ignore party platforms and principles, and resort to the more unmanly and degrading acts, seeking to misrepresent the true principles and desires of their contemporaries, indulging in personal insults and *brutish violence*, — then is party spirit a *curse*.

Notwithstanding the superiority of our government, notwithstanding the wisdom and patriotism of the American people, we have seen the abuses of party spirit and sectional prejudice in many a *hideous*

form. It has not only made its appearance in the common conversation of neighbors, causing dissatisfaction and hard feeling; it has not only found its way into the columns of the various periodicals of our country, and there heaped injustice, slander, and malice upon its opponents; but it has been introduced into the sanctuary, with a malicious feeling, by those who professed to be called of God to preach the gospel of Christ, thereby causing divisions and wars in the churches. It has not only wrought the inhabitants of one section of our country to such a feeling of injustice and *madness* as to render it unpleasant, unsafe, dangerous, and almost *impossible*, for the candidates of the other section to canvass it, and represent the true principles and desires of themselves and their constituents, but it has eluded free discussion and elaborate arguments, by resorting to deadly weapons to avenge the wrath of *cowards and fools*. It has threatened the nullification of some of our most wholesome laws; it has, on several occasions, spit forth words of treason in the halls of our national capitol; but, last of all, and *worst* of all, it has the audacity to come forth in the form of that contemptible, that infamous, and *damnable* instrument denominated "*A Secession Ordinance!*" It has brought a mighty *rebellion* into our land; caused men to perjure themselves, to repudiate their debts, steal our mints, our arsenals, and forts, to organize

a bogus confederacy, and ask us to "let them alone." Hence it is, that the disgrace of civil war is now upon our once prosperous and happy nation ; that one million of our fellow-citizens — of our fathers and our brothers — are in hostile array against each other. Hence it is that fire and sword are now devastating our land ; that the forests are felled, the railroads torn up, the navigation of rivers obstructed, the homes and property of patriots and Christians burned up or confiscated, and the widows and orphans, the fatherless and motherless, weeping and wailing upon the hill-tops and through the valleys. And hence it is that national reproach is so lavishly bestowed upon our people by the despotic nations of the world ; that the occupants of thrones are so earnestly and constantly gazing away upon the shores of America, and determining what course they can, or will, pursue with our government. Thus it is that such a painful interest is manifest in the breast of each official ; that a dreadful anxiety marks the features of all classes, as they quickly rush forth to devour each telegraphic dispatch, and hastily sketch the papers that are wafted across the Atlantic Ocean. All are eager to know what the policy of the European powers *will be* in the present crisis. We had been a free and happy people. No nation of earth had excelled our rapid progress in the arts and sciences, in the increasing population and wealth of

our States, and in the development of the various resources which render a country powerful and great, which build up a true nationality, that secures the respect and admiration of the civilized world. Neither have the American people been loath to assert the superiority of our institutions. They have boasted of our liberty, our wisdom, and our *valor*. They have invited the oppressed and down-trodden of all nations to flee the wrath of tyrants and take refuge under the "Stars and Stripes of America." By these acts, of course, they have begotten a jealousy in the hearts of tyrants and the advocates of despotism, and hence we Americans have been styled "*a fast people*."

But we could not expect the despotic governments to do otherwise than feel interested in our national calamities. They have (especially Great Britain) envied the American Republic for her peace and prosperity, for her wisdom, her grandeur and glory, and would now, doubtless, willingly — yes, *gladly* — see her rent asunder; for, from the fall of this Republic, they would hope to deduce many arguments in favor of the justice, durability, and supremacy of a monarchical system. With this illustrious example before them, they could expect to convince many of their subjects of the impracticability of republicanism and the incapability of man *to govern himself*, thereby suppressing, as it were, that heaven-born nature

which prompts man to vindicate his rights. This, we find, is the present deplorable situation of our country; this is the position that she now occupies before the civilized world, — almost upon the verge of ruin!

But we can, in no measure, attribute our present calamities to an imperfection in the principles upon which our government was originally founded, or to any great defects in the provisions of our Federal Constitution. The fault is with the people! Many have manifested too little concern in the affairs of State, too little interest in the political condition of their country. Firmly convinced that we had a good government, based upon sound principles, they seemed to entertain no fears for its durability, and consequently neglected to inform themselves of the true principles of our national character, and the influences of the different sections of the country upon one another, but, on the other hand, trusted their suffrages to the common tide of party spirit and sectional prejudices. And for that reason, there has always been a class of ambitious and unprincipled men, desirous of distinguishing themselves, desirous of reaping the emoluments of office and furthering the cause of sectional interests. There has always been a class of politicians who have availed themselves of the ignorant and degraded portions of society, who have, by falsehoods, bribes, and threats,

succeeded in controlling passions and prejudices, and getting themselves into office, that they might more fully subserve their personal interests and the nefarious designs of sectional parties. The ballot-box, which has been denominated "the great safety-valve of republican institutions," has frequently been violated in such divers ways, that intriguing persons have secured positions for which they were totally unqualified and entirely unworthy, both respecting natural abilities and moral worth. For these very reasons, then, it is obvious that our courts of justice, our halls of legislators, and the executive mansions of our great national chief, have, too often, been filled by such persons as were disposed to render verdicts, legislate, and administer the laws, in that way most calculated to meet the approbation of their sectional and party prejudices.

But what was the primary cause of this bitter party strife and deep sectional animosity that has so long been *the curse* of our land? All will now agree that the great source of party strife which has, for many years, distinguished the two sections of our country by the terms *North* and *South*,—all agree that it is to be found in the "Peculiar Institution of the South." It is found in "The Sum of all Villanies." There have been, to be sure, other questions of dispute between the people of the North and South; but all the important political questions,

when traced to their first cause, seem to have their origin in, and to be subordinate to, the one *great* question, — *Negro Slavery*.

This institution, it is argued by some self-righteous Pharisees of "Dixie," is of divine origin, is authorized by the precepts of the gospel, and is always compatible with the truest patriotism and the truest piety. We do not desire, at this time, to enter into a theological discussion; but we should be gratified to have some of those learned divines and vindicators of human slavery interpret the following passages: "Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them." (Heb. xiii. 3.) "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him." (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.) "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?" (Isa. lviii. 6.) "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven." (Col. iv. 1.) "For one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." "Neither be ye called masters: for one is your Master, even Christ." (Matt. xxiii. 8, 10.) "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would

that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." (Matt. vii. 12.)

Do you find anything in this guaranteeing the right to hold *property in man*?

Waiving all other arguments respecting the *divinity* of the institution, it has been argued that the blacks are of an inferior race; that their natural endowments are so poor as to render them incapable of a high standard of intellectual culture; that they are a degraded race of beings, fit only to serve the white man, and to perform the labor which the white man *cannot*. Or, in the language of Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, "The dirty, greasy, black rascals are only fit to work in the cotton and cane, and do drudgery to civilize the white man."

But is it true that the black man has no natural gifts? Have we not seen the assertion disproved upon this very platform? Only give him a fair opportunity to develop himself, and you will find that the negro *has* talent. Otherwise, why is it that the masters have used so much caution and care to prevent the circulation of certain books and periodicals among their slaves? Why have they so much feared, and so frequently forbidden, any efforts to teach their slaves, if they considered them to be a naturally degraded and depraved race?

Let this question, however, be decided in whatever way it may, let it be proved, if you please, that

their natural endowments are generally inferior to those of the Caucasian race, we have learned that neither talent nor acquired wisdom can constitute a basis for arbitrary power,—a natural right for one human being to control the lives and fortunes of others! For, were it otherwise, or were the absence of *color* an essential qualification for the enjoyment of freedom, with the same propriety, with the same degree of justice, might men enslave their own children, and sell them into perpetual bondage; because we all know that there are many of our Caucasian friends that have sons and daughters, whose natural endowments are rather inferior to some of the Grecian philosophers and Roman orators! We are also assured that there are but few slave masters who have not enough *colored children*! Away, then,—away *forever*, with those defective, those *foolish* arguments, which are so often used to establish the right of man to hold *property in human beings*!

But since Slavery *has* been tolerated in a number of our States, and since the “Dred Scott Decision” has pronounced the slave to be nothing more than “Goods and chattels,” it is well to take from this stand-point a retrospective view of the moral, social, and political influences exerted upon those sections of our country, by “The Peculiar Institution.” There, children are taught from infancy to look upon labor as degrading. They are often reared in luxury and

idleness; and, as the physical system is improperly developed from the lack of sufficient manual labor, so is the mental system weakened and unfitted for a true appreciation of high-toned morality, and an obedience to those laws of virtue and justice which render humanity noble and great. Hence, the great social distinctions among the Southern people. Among them, men are respected according to the number of slaves that they may own. Indeed, they have gone so far with this as to unblushingly make the declaration, before the representatives of our nation, in Congress assembled, that the *laboring* people of the country were nothing but "*the mudsills of society!*" If, in a *literary* point of view, we compare the Slave States with the Free, we will find them to be far inferior. — No public schools, no colleges, no system of education compared with the Northern States. — Ignorance stalks abroad among the people, and the masses are controlled more by the common tide of inherited prejudices than by common sense. They tell us that they have smart men among them, — that they have produced some of our ablest statesmen, — some of our bravest soldiers, and best skilled military tacticians. This we admit; but where did they get their mental discipline? where did they acquire their wisdom? Did they inherit it from their illustrious ancestors? did they obtain it in Southern law-schools and military academies? or did they sneak over

among the colleges and libraries of the detestable "*Yankees*," to have a little common sense beat into them? Ah! it is vanity to boast of *Southern literature*! Just compare the reports of their schools, the catalogues of their colleges, and the numbers that are unable to read and write; compare the statistics of the two sections of the country, and enough has been done to convince the honest and intelligent citizen that the institution of Negro Slavery has been the great moral, social, and political *curse* of the American Union!

But since certain provisions were made in the Federal Constitution for its protection, we should never have claimed a right to interfere with the institution, in the States where it existed, farther than the right of *free speech*, and the power of moral suasion over this as well as all other evils. Neither did we oppose their *constitutional* right to form new Slave States, so long as they were governed by the provisions of the Constitution; so long as they were guided by a sense of justice and honor, and a determination that all parties and principles should have a fair hearing, and that all free citizens should have an equal and undisturbed privilege of expressing their preferences at the ballot-box. But have our Southern brethren lived up to their duties under the Constitution? Is there a gentleman in Boston,—is there an intelligent citizen in America, so blind with prejudice, so *bigoted*

and *maddened* with party-spirit as to exempt the South from censure,—to deny that she has not been the instigator of almost every act of usurpation and violence? She has never been satisfied with her constitutional rights, although she has controlled the important offices of the government for about two-thirds of its existence. There have been nineteen presidential elections. Twelve of them resulted in the election of Southern men who *held slaves*. Seven resulted in the election of Northern men who were not the owners of slaves. It is also to be observed that no *Northern man* has ever been *re-elected*; but that five of the Southern representatives have. The nineteenth president did not get *one electoral vote* in the South! In spite of all these advantages and indulgences, though, they have ever been dissatisfied, and demanded *more!* Not only have they suppressed free speech in the Southern States and inflicted persecution and *death* upon those who dared to utter sentiments adverse to slavery; but they have invaded free territory to carry elections at the point of the bayonet! They have formed bogus constitutions, and attempted to force the same upon the people of a free territory! Look at “bleeding Kansas,” how the usurpers invaded her, deprived the honest citizens of their rights,—held a mock convention at Lecompton,—framed a slave constitution and code of laws which the people rejected, detested, and *abhorred*.

But yet they carry this infamous piece of work to their representative at the national capitol; where, to the everlasting disgrace of the eighteenth president of the United States, to the chagrin and *disgust* of all true and loyal Americans, he endeavors to persuade Congress to force this obnoxious instrument upon the people, — but, thank God, *does not succeed!*

This, my friends, appears to have been the spirit engendered by the aristocracy and chivalry of the South, to the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty, and to the eighty-fourth year of our National Independence, when the nineteenth candidate is to be chosen to fill the executive chair. But, having controlled the affairs of the Government so long, and, feeling assured that the outraged and *insulted* people intended to wrest the power from the grasp of *traitors*, and place it in the hands of honest and patriotic men, they openly declare that they will never submit to the choice of a constitutional majority of the people, except that it shall result in the selection of *their candidate*, — that they “never will submit to the election of *Abraham Lincoln!*”

But the earth does not cease to revolve upon its axis; neither do the stars fall from heaven! The alternations of day and night roll round the glorious day of November sixth, when the free and brave men of the country, animated with the love of liberty and a determination to exercise the right which was pur-

chased with the blood of their fathers, come to the ballot-box and deposit their votes for *Abraham*, who was abiding in the land of "Succordom." The result of this election afforded the desired pretext of South Carolina to attempt a dissolution of the Union!—that foolish, fanatical, that contemptible and *detestable* old commonwealth, or hot-bed of *treason*,—scarcely worthy for the abode of *Lucifer and his angels*! She assembles her convention on the 17th of December, and on the 20th it unanimously passes this "league with hell and covenant with death," which they style a "Secession Ordinance:" "We, the people of South Carolina, in convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained, that the ordinance adopted by us in convention on the 23d day of May in the year of our Lord, 1788, whereby the Constitution of the United States was ratified, and also all acts and parts of acts of the general assembly of this State, ratifying the amendments of the said Constitution are hereby repealed, and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of the United States of America, is dissolved!"

Oh, what a trying hour for every true American patriot, when the proceedings of this vile body of Conventioners came before them! Wonderful that they did not intuitively rush forth to the *total extermination of the South Carolinian race*! Wonderful

that those mighty cannons had not bounded away from the ramparts of Bunker Hill, to *devastate the land of treason!* What would Andrew Jackson have done with that convention? He would have sent an army, and *hanged* them as *high as the stars!* The only thing that he regretted upon his death-bed was, that he had not *hanged the Father of Secession!* But alas! the ghost of Jackson had departed, while the followers of Calhoun still flourished, and unfortunately for the nation, there was no *president* at its head, — no being worthy the title of President or *man*. "Granny Buchanan" admits the right of secession, or denies the authority of the Federal Government to coerce a seceding State, although the cries and petitions of patriots are going up from every corner of the Union. Although they advise him, entreat him, and *pray* that he will exercise the duties of his office by garrisoning the forts and stopping the spread of treason and rebellion. Although his unpatriotic and infamous negligence causes shame, resignation, and *tears* in his cabinet, he turns his back upon all, and looks away upon the field of treason, seemingly, with the utmost composure! In rapid succession, the Cotton States follow the example of South Carolina. Their Congressmen resign and proceed to Montgomery, Alabama, where they attempt to organize a new government under the title of the "Southern Confederacy."

This doctrine of the right of secession, and the establishment of a provisional government in our midst, some of the conspirators pretend to argue, rests upon the doctrine "that the Union is a compact between the independent States from which any one of them may withdraw at pleasure in virtue of its sovereignty."

But is it true that our government was a compact of independent sovereignties, subject to dissolution and ruin at any time when a faction of ambitious politicians might feel disposed to deceive and drag a State out of the Union? Did the framers of the Constitution so understand it, when they declared that "No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque or reprisal; no State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay"? Did the several States so understand it when they ratified that Constitution; or did they understand that the Constitution of the United States was to be the supreme law of the land, "anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding"? Certainly it can be nothing but the grossest folly and waste of language to talk about a

constitutional right for secession. Nothing can be found in that instrument from which to infer that it was otherwise intended by its originators, than that this government should be perpetual; and, as some of our statesmen have asserted, it would be unreasonable to suppose that the founders of a government would, intentionally, provide a means for its destruction.

But again, other leading rebels call this *revolution* "one of the greatest revolutions in the annals of the world." Jefferson Davis says that it is "an abuse of language to call it a *revolution*." This right of revolution under tyrannical governments, of course, is admitted and, we learn, is the precise doctrine advocated by our forefathers,—that among the natural endowments of man are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; for the security of which, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; and that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it.

Is it true, though, that the United States Government had become destructive of these ends? Had any radical changes been made in either the Constitution or the laws of the nation, which, if faithfully obeyed, would materially affect the enjoyments of any of those rights? Indeed, it would seem that if

any section of our country, or any portion of our fellow-citizens have a right to complain of oppressiveness from the supreme laws of the nation, or of injustice and usurpation from the hands of the administrators of the Federal Constitution and laws, that right must devolve upon any part of the community, must devolve upon any State, before a Southern people or a Slave State, — from the fact, as we have previously noticed, that the Federal Government, for the greater part of its existence, has been administered by those directly connected with, or particularly interested in, the institutions of the South. No resolution, no question, has ever come before Congress, which would materially affect all or any portion of the nation; no such resolution has been presented to that body in the absence of a fair representation from the "Cotton Kingdom"; no such resolution has been adopted by that body without a free and fair hearing of the representatives from the Gulf States. Yes, we may say, a *better hearing*, in many cases, than they should have been *permitted to enjoy*. Yet they pretend that they have many grievances. The *tariff question* has been troubling some of them a great deal for the last thirty years; and we learn that in the days of Jackson and Calhoun, the *nervous* old State "took the responsibility" (as the Charleston Mercury would say) to "nullify" some of the enactments of the United States Congress; and Mr. Cal-

houn had the egotism and the presumption to try to vindicate her action upon the floor of the United States Senate. But, fortunately for America, Andrew Jackson had fought the battle of New Orleans before this important event. He was not to be frightened by the bellowing of South Carolina, or the barking of her hounds (houns). He was not to be forced from his executive duties by the brandishing of canes and bowie knives, or by the snap of revolvers! Although we believe General Jackson to have been an ambitious and an *envious* man, he certainly had many noble traits of character and good principles. He had sworn to protect the Constitution and laws of the nation when they were entrusted to him by the people; and, to his immortal praise and honor, we see him standing by his *oath* in the hour of the nation's peril, and swearing,—“*By the Eternal, the Union shall be preserved.*” He knew that “the protection of manufactures was a leading and avowed object for the formation of the Constitution,” and that “the second law passed by Congress, after its formation, was a *revenue law*.” He also knew that the earliest supporters of the protective system had been found in the Southern States.

But, as we have already learned, the principal charge against the Northern States, and the great cause (as our Southern brethren would have it) for the present rebellion in the nation, was, that the citizens of the

Northern States had intermeddled too much with the institution of Southern slavery, by refusing the surrender of fugitive slaves, and enacting State laws to obstruct the capture and return of those blacks who had escaped from servitude. Indeed, some of them attempt nothing else than to ascribe this as the only cause, and would make it cover the whole ground of justification for the destruction of the Union. Yet at the same time, probably, some of the Southern States could not prove that they had ever lost a single slave by these acts of Northern legislation; probably could not prove that all the abolitionists of Massachusetts, all the anti-slavery societies of the North, with their various tracts and printed periodicals, and with all the lectures and speeches of William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglas, Charles Sumner, Horace Greeley, Dr. Cheever, and Henry Ward Beecher, have cost the "land of Dixie" *one hundred*, or even *fifty sable children*, since the founding of the government. Nothing is necessary but to listen to the voice of impartial history, to be convinced that the South has done the *greatest injustice* to the Free States, in this alleged interference with slavery; saying nothing about the pretext that it would afford for revolution, were the North really guilty of every charge.

We know that the Northern people have frequently been guilty of errors and inconsistencies, that they

have sometimes been too hasty in forming conclusions. We also believe that the abolitionists, while engaged in a good cause, and sometimes, if not always, with pure motives, have been premature and imprudent. John Brown, for aught that we know, may have been a man of pure heart, and perhaps thought that "he was acting by the authority of the Lord Jesus," when he took possession of Harper's Ferry and frightened "Kentucky's mother" out of her wits. Yet, it cannot but be apparent to the discerning mind that he acted imprudently, and undertook the work of emancipation with a premature zeal.

While, therefore, we must acknowledge that the Northern people have said and done many things that were wrong, we cannot find that they have ever attempted to deprive the South of her constitutional rights; have ever threatened to dissolve the Union if a South Carolinian should be constitutionally elected to the presidency. But, on the contrary, they have, almost as a whole, been an open-hearted and forbearing people, ready to meet all important questions upon the platform, and to trust their decision to the ballot-box. They have always permitted the Southern politicians to enjoy the freedom of speech among them. Yes, they have been permitted to come into our midst regularly, and deliver speeches, charges, insults, and threats, for which they

would not hesitate to mob and hang our representatives, without judge or jury, had they gone into the Southern States and attempted to pour out an equivalent for the same! There can be no doubt but that the Northern people have, for some time, been too lenient toward the Southern ruffians. They have borne more insults and abuses than they ought to have done, and much more than was necessary for them to endure; and, as a necessary consequence, as a spoiled child that has been indulged by fond parents, they eventually arrive at such a point of self-conceit and presumption as to attempt to ignore the whole authority, and to usurp the entire powers, to domineer over the former. Nor can it be denied that this egotism, this slave aristocracy of the South, has received much aid and been hastened in its growth, by a certain class of Northern people who were unconscious of what they were doing. It is a lamentable fact that there has always been a class of persons so poorly and weakly constituted, so one-sided in the discernment of great facts, and so unstable in the formation of judgment, that they were ready, at any time, to sacrifice a great principle, and exert their entire influence in the opposite direction, simply because some others have gone a little *too far* with this good principle,—because they have become “fanatical.” This has been the case with many, respecting the two great national parties of our coun-

try. Many citizens (both North *and* South, we suppose, but especially in the North,) acknowledge that the institution of negro slavery is a great moral, social, and political *curse*, which *ought* to be abolished. Yet they will tell you that John Brown was a *fool*; that the abolitionists are fanatics, who have undertaken a work that they can never accomplish; and that our representatives have "too much to say about the nigger;" that our clergymen can find nothing to talk about but slavery. Hence they denounce this great party whose primary basis is laid in those very principles which they acknowledge to be just. They unjustly denounce the whole party because it contains a few "fanatics," ignore principles, and give their influence to a sectional party, that has *little principle or honor*; thereby filling our government offices with a class of infamous persons who are continually plotting *treason*, and seeking to destroy and disgrace this glorious land of liberty. Is not this inconsistency in the *worst* form? Does it not disclose a great *weakness* in man? If we acknowledge that there is a great evil in our midst, rapidly increasing its magnitude, threatening the destruction of our peace and prosperity, of our most sacred rights and privileges, threatening the *subversion of our government*, is it not our duty to prepare for immediately resisting it? Because a few fanatics and fools have madly dashed forth with the expectation of

eradicating the evil themselves, in the twinkling of an eye, should we be so much disgusted with their folly as to forget our own duty, and fly from the tempest, removing the obstructions as we went? Certainly this would not be the part of wise and good men; yet it is a parallel case with the one above cited! It has been too common an excuse among the dough-faces and one-eyed politicians of the North, to say that "I'm as much opposed to the extension of slavery as you are; but I believe in the Northern people attending to their own business, and letting slavery alone where it is; they have too much to say about the *poor nigger*." This does not exactly coincide with the doctrine that we recently heard advocated by a Methodist clergyman, when he so earnestly and repeatedly assured his audience, that, "if they did not *crowd* upon the *devil*, they would soon find his satanic majesty crowding upon them!"

But if we acknowledge that the institution of negro slavery is an *evil*, if we acknowledge that there is a dreadful wickedness in our land, let it exist in whatever shape or form it may, if we concede that the abolitionists have been hurried too far by their infatuated zeal, if we see that the reformers have been too eager to progress a good work, and consequently have injured themselves and the cause in which they were engaged,—does this, in any degree

whatever, relieve us from the obligation to mature another, a better plan, for the emancipation of our fellow-creatures that are in bondage? Does this free us from every duty we owe to humanity and justice? A grosser delusion certainly could not come upon man than to suppose that the inconsistencies and errors of others would render him immaculate, or free from all moral obligations! Moral science does not teach us that we can reform others by simply pointing out all their errors, or telling them that they are "fanatics;" we must set them right. Neither does it teach us that we are to rectify ourselves in all things, by continually scrutinizing the actions of our fellow-beings, in order to detect and magnify every wrong which they may commit. To be sure, we can profit ourselves, always, by diligently and honestly investigating the characters of different individuals, and carefully avoiding all those errors and inconsistencies for which they may be responsible. But there is no principle, no reasoning, in moral science or moral philosophy, to justify such a doctrine; there is no good sense in that train of reasoning which attempts to establish the argument, that a perpetration of certain immoral, unjust, and degrading acts by one individual confers a license or a natural right upon others to do the same things! If your neighbor should circulate a base falsehood concerning your character, it would confer no right

upon you to publish a list of charges for disgraceful acts of his, which you knew were utterly false. The simple circumstances that some persons have gone beyond the limits of justice, reason, and common sense, does in no wise indicate that others should recede from the common standard of moral rectitude. Yet we have too often found men acting from a different principle.

But we are happy, this evening, my friends, to congratulate you on the fact that there seems to be some limit provided by nature for all of those extremes to which the passions, prejudices, and delusions of men may carry them. When they have gone so far in sectional prejudice, self-ambition, and *infamy*, as to reject that government which was founded upon the most noble and benign principles that have ever existed, the grandest and most glorious Republic that ever stood beneath the canopy of the heavens, and received the smiles of angels; when they attempt to destroy a government which has been founded upon those principles which we have seen constitute the basis of the American Union, 'tis time that the avenging wrath of insulted Heaven should break forth from the portals of glory, to rebuke those traitors for their presumption, and to arouse the sleeping patriots to a sense of their duty. But, glory to God, the American patriots may rejoice that they have seen this verified in their own country.

There is justice, there are wisdom and *valor*, among the loyal sons of freedom, and they will fly to its rescue in the hour of trial.

Yes, my friends, we know that they *will* rescue the government from the hands of treason. They now fully realize the value of this government. They know that if the Union is now lost, it will probably remain so forever; and that, if the Union is lost, all our hopes, peace, and prosperity for the future are blasted. Because, when we surrender the flag of the Union, when we compromise with traitors, and acknowledge the independence of another "Confederacy" in our midst, whose avowed principles are found in the assumption that the blacks are of an inferior race, and that man has a natural or "divine right" to hold property in man, and whose cornerstones have been boastfully declared to be planted upon the institution of slavery, and the natural rights of one race resulting from the natural depravity of another, — were we to quietly submit to all this, we would have, as it were, calmly folded our arms upon our breast, and placed our head on the chopping-block. Had we been compelled to surrender a portion of our territory to the dominion of Rebels, either with or without resistance, and to acknowledge their independence, we could have had no guarantees for peace in the future. We could have had no confidence in a people who had violated every principle of *honor*

and *virtue*, and afterwards founded another government upon self-ambition, *perjury*, and *malice*. Nay, it is *absurd* to suppose that it would be a work of less magnitude to form treaties and alliances with those people, after they held a distinct nationality of their own, than what it was while they were subordinate to, and formed a part of, the one great and supreme government of the United States. The history of their people would afford no assurances that such a nation would stand by any contract, any pledge of honor, longer than it would seem to subserve their own interests. Nothing could be expected from a government founded upon such unnatural, unjust, and *foolish* principles but a continual train of internal dissensions and insurrections, and constant wars upon its outer borders. They admit the right of secession; this is a fundamental principle of the Rebel government,—that any State may secede, at any time when she feels so disposed; thus, as it were, placing the destructible combustibles beneath the pillars of their government, to destroy them at any moment! Is it possible to suppose that a government of this description could long withstand the shock of time? that it would not be rent in fragments before the days of a single generation were numbered? Before the several departments could be arranged and put into operation, some State would feel herself aggrieved, and would

quickly *secede* from the "Southern Confederacy,"— would declare her independence! There would also be a mighty host of hungry politicians and "Southern gentlemen," claiming the office of king or priest. Of course, some of them would get badly disappointed; and, consequently, their blood being too "*noble*" to stand anything of that kind, would immediately proceed to form a "Secession Ordinance" for their State. They would have to hold office. If they could not all be accommodated in one "Confederacy," they would be compelled to divide it, that each one might have a government of his own. Does it not, then, seem to be nothing but the grossest folly, the most palpable nonsense, and the very essence of *silliness and idiocy*, to think, speak, write, or *dream*, of anything like justice, peace, prosperity, virtue, or philanthropy, patriotism, and *valor*, resulting from a system of government like unto that of the "Southern Confederacy of America"? Indeed, it would appear to be a work too *childish and simple* to be originated or participated in by men possessing *common sense*!

No wonder, then, that the great mass of the Northern people are aroused; that they come forth, almost to a man, declaring that forbearance has ceased to be a virtue; that Secession is nothing but *treason*, and that *the Union shall be preserved, at all hazards*. No wonder that party name and party

spirit are so almost universally ignored or forgotten in every Northern State; that the *brave* and *good* men are rushing forth from every quarter, from every party, freely, nobly, offering their *lives* and their *fortunes* for the salvation of the Union! Yes, many good citizens who had formerly taken no interest in political affairs, who had, as it were, been perfectly dormant with regard to the affairs of State, are now excited and brought to an appreciation of their situation, their interest, and their duty. Many of the American people had never before realized the advantages and blessings of this Union! Instead of investigating the true principles of our national character, to see the superior blessings that it afforded us, and the innumerable advantages and liberties which our people enjoy over the citizens of any other form of government, and for which we should be *thankfully proud*, — instead of this, they have too often been disposed to complain of the oppressiveness of the government, and the *hardships* which *they* have endured.

But when the hour of trial has arrived, when the voice of treason is sounded through the land, when the “stars and stripes” are snatched from the staff of Liberty and trampled beneath the unhallowed feet of Rebels, when the thunder of artillery and the clash of arms have echoed in their ears, — then they are all awakened to a proper consideration of the momentous

question before them : whether the inheritance of their fathers should be preserved, or whether the price of their ancestors' blood should be wilfully and wickedly sacrificed ; whether the government of the United States was worth preserving, or whether the wise and brave sons of freedom should calmly submit to the will and demands of its destroyers. Oh, what a time for testing the true characters of men ! what a glorious opportunity to know who are the great and good men of America ! when the voice is crying at every door, — Men and women, will you do your duty ? Will you stand by your government in its trying hour ? Will you convince the world that you are neither afraid nor ashamed to be found defending the cause of *liberty*, with your treasure and your blood, or will you be *a traitor and a rebel* ? You are for the Union, or you are against it ; you are either a philanthropist and a patriot at heart, or you are *a vile traitor*. Will you now define your position ? Have you the courage to declare what cause you are going to support ? This is what will test the true character of an individual, and show whether or no he possesses any of those qualities which constitute the *true man*. Yes, when a plot is laid by those infamous persons for the assassination of our President, while on his way to the Federal City, where he is to be lawfully inaugurated, — where he swears, before his countrymen, and before his God, to stand by the

Constitution of the United States, and "to take care that the laws are faithfully executed,"—and where he tells us that "all the protection, which consistently with the Constitution and the laws can be given, will be cheerfully given to all States, when lawfully demanded, for whatever cause, as cheerfully to one section as to another." "That there are persons in one section or another who seek to destroy the Union at all events and are glad of any pretext to do it, he will neither affirm or deny." But he asks those "who really love the Union"—"before entering upon so grave a matter as the destruction of our national fabric, with all its benefits, its memories, and its hopes, would it not be well to ascertain precisely why we do it? Will you hazard so desperate a step while there is any possibility that any portion of the ills you fly from have no real existence?" "My countrymen, one and all, think calmly and well upon this whole subject." "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict, without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect, and defend it." "We are not enemies, but friends." When the news comes teeming from the secession press, that this Inaugural was read in "the Montgomery

Congress," "*amid shouts of laughter*," it was rather too much to be borne by the loyal men of the North! Yea, when Jefferson Davis sends those Rebel ambassadors to Washington, to make demands of our President and our Government, — when our rivers are obstructed by the hands of treason, — when we learn that our compatriots in the South have been shot down, imprisoned, and tortured to death, for simply expressing their love and devotion to the Union, — when we receive intelligence that the gallant Anderson has been compelled to lower the "stars and stripes" from the battered walls of Fort Sumter, to give place to the "palmetto flag," — when the Rebels declare that they are going to plant the "rattlesnake flag" upon the Capitol at Washington, upon Faneuil Hall, and upon *Bunker Hill Monument* — that is enough! the spirit of *Seventy-six* is awakened! No wonder that the Union flags are shooting forth from every house, from every window, that "the star-spangled banner" is waving from the colossal spires of every city, of every town, bearing those glorious inscriptions, — "*The Union, the Constitution and the enforcement of the Laws*," — "*The Union, it must and shall be preserved*." Oh! how manfully, how *nobly*, the party-presses lay aside their old prejudices and party-slang, for "an after consideration," placing the "stars and stripes" at the head of their columns, declaring that the protection of *that flag* is

paramount to every other consideration ! How fascinating, how inspiring it was, when the trump of war was sounded, and the great and brave men were called to rescue the government from the hands of traitors, from everlasting destruction and *disgrace*. As if a voice from *heaven* had suddenly commanded them to awake and prepare for duty, we see them rushing forth, at the first roll of the drum, mounting the rostrum, mounting the house-tops and proclaiming "liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable." Declaring that civil war had been forced upon the Government without provocation, that the national flag had been insulted by *traitors*, — that the Constitution and laws of our country had been declared null and void, and were openly defied by a large class of *armed men* : — that consequently, they belonged to *no party*, and could think and speak of nothing else, till the "stars and stripes" were again floating over *every inch* of the United States Territory, — till Rebels had laid down their arms, and no longer defied the supreme laws of the land. Yes, when the President calls upon the loyal States for seventy-five thousand men, to protect our beleaguered capitol, we see — ay ! the world sees — that there are plenty of *men* in *America* yet ! plenty of heroes, eager to pay the price of liberty and the expense of republicanism ! These glorious truths, respecting the government and equal rights of men, were not buried

at Yorktown, or upon the fields of Lexington, with the bones of the Revolutionary sires. Nay! the God of eternal justice had otherwise decreed it. Hence, it was, that the bosom of every good man, of every wise and noble lady, was rekindled with an undying love for the Union, and a willingness to sacrifice all in its defence. And hence it was that every loyal State was so ambitious that *her* sons should be the *first* to respond to the cry of help at Washington. Well does Old Massachusetts remember the circumstance. Never, my friends,—never can you forget that hour in which you gave up your fathers, your husbands, your sons, and your brothers, to *freedom's cause*. Never can you forget the emotions of your patriotic breasts, on the nineteenth of April, Eighteen hundred and sixty-one, when the news came flashing along the telegraphic wires, that your friends had been *stoned* and *shot down* by a mob of *cowardly savages*, in the streets of Baltimore, while on their way to defend and protect the Constitution and laws of your country! Although you were disposed to drop tears of grief upon the mangled corpses of the fallen heroes, did you not feel proud of those valiant ones who had first responded to their country's call,—who had first celebrated that anniversary by pouring their blood upon the shrine of liberty? Did you not feel that the justice of *Heaven* would soon demand retribution for the blood

which was spilled in Baltimore, on the nineteenth of April? Yea; *then* it was, that the world began to learn a lesson — when they beheld an army of *half a million of men*, marshalled on the bank of the Potomac, crying for *vengeance*, — Lead us on to Richmond: lead us into the land of Secession: lead us over to the land of *treason*! When they saw the vaults of our banks and the safes of our merchants *fly open* to the support of the government, — when they beheld the coffers of *misers* freely offered to “Uncle Sam,” and the purse-strings of those occupying the most humble stations of life loosening to contribute their contents to the cause of liberty and justice, to the cause of *humanity*, *then* the nations of the earth no longer doubt the fact that we still have a *government*. Although the *British “Lyon”* roars around Washington, and shakes his shaggy mane; although our government and brave officers are subjected to the censure and criticism of the “all wise” *Russell*, while the London Times is thundering away in the Eastern World, ambitious to know how much injustice it can do to our government, and to the friends of republicanism; notwithstanding all this, *truth is mighty*; facts will spread even beyond the limits of the ocean! Hence, some of the European journals step forth and declare that if it was done in good faith, the manner in which the people of the Northern States of the American Union have sacri-

ficed almost every other consideration, and rallied to the support of the Constitution and Union, is certainly one of the grandest examples of *self-denying patriotism* that the world has ever witnessed !

In spite of the momentary reverses which the national arms experienced at Big Bethel, at Bull Run, and Ball's Bluff; notwithstanding the jubilee of the Rebels over these events; notwithstanding they are assembling daily and imploring Heaven for assistance in the destruction of the American Union,—imploring Heaven for assistance to take from mankind their nearest and dearest rights. And, although the Southern press has the presumption to claim that God is upon the side of the "Southern Confederacy;" that God is upon the side of despotism; that he is wielding the swords and cannons of *traitors*, and leading them onward to victory and independence, have not those reverses, upon the soil of Northern Virginia, proved themselves to be events, in the hands of Providence, by which to work out an exceeding greater weight of glory than had ever crowned the national arms of America,—wreaths of glory, brighter than which had never encircled the "star-spangled banner"? Yea! then the portals of heaven seemed to open, and the shouts of *angels* were heard, leading our gallant troops onward to victory! Brave men, inspired with a righteous cause, cannot be conquered, cannot be defeated. Hence we see the ghost of

secession fleeing from the plains of Missouri, from the valleys of Kentucky, and the mountains of Virginia, as the army of Liberty advances.

The notes of victory resound from the shores of South Carolina, as the noble Dupont sails into Port Royal, with his gallant crew, and replants the "staff of liberty" there.

Soon, again, the joyful news arrives that Gen. Thomas has defeated the hosts of Zollicoffer, at Somerset, Kentucky,—has slain their chief and captured a number of Rebels. Commodore Foote carries the music down to Old Tennessee, where his soldiers beat the ode of liberty, with shot and shell, upon the battlements of Fort Henry, in double quick time; sending panic, terror, and *dismay* to the hearts of traitors; battering down this stronghold of rebellion, and raising the "red, white, and blue" upon its ruins. General Burnside, with his patriotic crews, floats down to North Carolina, demolishes the bulwarks of treason upon Roanoke Island—achieves a most glorious victory, and again supplants the "rattle-snake flag" with "the emblem of liberty." But, oh! how our hearts were *rejoiced*; how many eyes were melted with tears of inexpressible *gratitude*, and how many knees were bended in *thankfulness*, when the news was confirmed that *Fort Donelson* had fallen before the combined forces of General Grant; that fifteen thousand Rebels, after all their

boasts and threats, after raising the "*black flag*," were forced to haul it down and unconditionally surrender themselves to those brave defenders of Constitution and Union!

This, my kind friends, doth strictly accord with the teachings of nature. This Rebellion in our land must be conquered, cost what it may. This Union must be preserved. Our posterity claim it. The cause of humanity demands that it shall be perpetuated from generation to generation, untarnished. *All heaven* demands that the American Republic be preserved. The times for concessions and compromises have all passed away. The hour for party gossip has flown, and mighty events are riding upon the breezes of each approaching moment. Our deluded countrymen must be rescued from the fetters of *treason*. Since reason has failed to accomplish this; since tears and prayers have proved to be of no avail in reclaiming their hearts, no physical force necessary for their subjugation should be withheld for one moment. The sword and the *cannon* will reclaim them, when all other expedients have failed. It is idle, now, for intelligent men to be continually harping upon the *Constitutionality* of every act of this Government. It is vanity, it is *presumption*, to question the right of man, to question the right of this nation, for *self-preservation*. This is the first law of nature. The rights and the duties of this govern-

ment now stand before us in pictures of *living light*, which cannot be mistaken. All nature is proclaiming, in thunder-tones, from east to west, from north to south, from earth to heaven; from the mountains and valleys, and from all the stars in the firmament, comes one continual admonition: Preserve the American Union; suppress this infamous Rebellion, O ye sons of America! Yes, 'tis our duty; 'twould be just; 'twould be pleasing in the sight of the Omniscent One, himself, to see our national honor vindicated before the world,—to see traitors brought to justice, and rebellion subdued, though every Southern city be laid in *ashes*, and that whole country *devastated*; though the rivers should run with *blood*; though *every bondman be set free*; and though the entire race of traitors and rebels be *exterminated from the face of the globe*! For they have performed acts of cowardice, of meanness and cruelty, too vile for rational beings. They have been the repeated authors of crimes, too black to be registered against savages and *barbarians*! They have even allied with “the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions,” and have brought them forth to tomahawk, scalp, and mangle the innocent, with impunity! Would to God that I had *the voice of an angel*, that I might make *one* speech for my country—one de-

fence for the cause of liberty and the rights of humanity! Oh that I could only depict the height and depth of the horrors and *infamy*, which must be engendered in this detestable and *damnable* secession and rebellion! 'Twould certainly cause weeping among the angelic hosts of the celestial worlds! But I feel my inability to do justice to so grave a subject.

May God hasten the day, when wars and rumors of wars shall have passed away; when rebellion and treason shall have been wiped from the face of our country; when the "Southern Confederacy" shall be numbered among the things that existed only in the days of infamous rebels; when the old palmetto trees of South Carolina shall wave a hearty welcome and cheerful submission to the old "star-spangled banner" and the Constitution of the Union; when the "ancient dominion" shall offer tears of repentant regret for the assassination of Ellsworth and the slaughter of the gallant Baker; when the blood of Lyon shall have cleansed Missouri from all disloyalty; when Tennessee shall have made ample restitution for the wrongs inflicted upon her loyal citizens, and the imprisonment of that patriotic editor, — Parson Brownlow. Yes, may that day speedily come, when the cotton fields of Mississippi and Louisiana, of Alabama and Georgia, shall blossom with intelligence and patriotism; when *free schools* and *free speech* shall be inaugurated and

protected, throughout the length and breadth of our land; and when men, everywhere, shall be taught to act from principle and *reason*. Then will humanity be supremely blest; then will the despotic nations of the world, while filled with admiration, tremble at the commands of this great and glorious Republic, and fully realize *the indestructibility of the American Union*.



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